

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"If we are driven from all other sources of hope, and are obliged to look at home, we fly to our manufactures and commerce and constitution, to our capital and credit and confidence, and, if these should fail us, our last resource is, our salt water girdle, and the wooden walls of Old England. We never either talk or think about fighting the French upon the coast of Suffolk or Sussex; but we must think about this, and we must do it too, and with success, or we must become the slaves of Buonaparté. The accursed Treaty of Amiens has severed us completely from the Continent, and has left the French Empire, consisting of seventy millions of souls, to fall upon us with its undivided weight. Great and terrible as it is, we must meet it: it may crush us, but we cannot get out of its way."—POLITICAL REGISTER, November 6, 1802, Vol. II. p. 571.

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TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY ADDINGTON,
&c. &c. &c.

E Cælo descendit Ἰωῆθι σεαυτον.

JUV.

SIR,—The most distinguished of ancient and modern moralists have at different periods forcibly and wisely inculcated the maxim, "that every man should know himself." They imagine, no doubt, that by the means of self-examination we should, each in our several situations, more distinctly discern the path of life which it became us to pursue, and be deterred by a silent monitor from attempting to execute those things, which our habit, our information, or powers of mind, forbid us to attempt, with credit to ourselves, or with safety to those, who depend on our conduct.—If, therefore, each man, in his individual capacity, is bound in point of reasonable discretion to acquire this "*knowledge of himself*." It becomes a solemn and imperious duty on those, on whose conduct the fate and fortunes of others depend; and with what peculiar force is it pressed home to you, Sir, who have taken on yourself the awful responsibility of directing the complicated and extensive concerns of a great empire, at a season of unexampled difficulty and danger? When you stand pledged, not merely (as in ordinary times) to maintain the relative interests and dignity of that empire, but to provide for the preservation of its existence!—But, Sir, though this duty be most obvious, I am aware, that there are human passions, which render its execution, in many cases, difficult, in others impossible.—If, for instance, it should happen, that the prominent features of the mind of a man, in your situation, should be those of the most despicable vanity, in the place of an honourable and dignified ambition; if, instead of a high spirit of enterprize arising from exalted and comprehensive views, we should see nothing but presumption at one moment, and timidity at another; I will

readily admit, that such a man will be as little qualified to endeavour to "know himself," as to govern a kingdom, which his ill-directed and indecisive services can only contribute to ruin.—But, Sir, without pressing this point further, you have in the debates on your treaty of Amiens (a treaty which you will, at least, permit me to call unfortunate) attempted to display the character in the memorable and well recorded words, "that the conduct to the enemy should be marked by conciliation on the one hand, and firmness on the other." * * * During the short interval, that has elapsed, since the date of that declaration and the present moment, I have never been able to affix the most remote meaning to these "pompous words," as interpreted by your conduct.—By what means, Sir, did you or could you propose to "conciliate" Buonaparté? A man, whose insolence, ambition, and depravity are unbounded; a man, who unites in his character the ferocity of an assassin with the baseness and cunning of a Newgate attorney.—Surely, Sir, there is no line of conduct which you deliberately meant to adopt by which such a man could be "conciliated." You, who are, by the favour of your Sovereign, created the prime minister of this great empire, and who, in that capacity, are bound by every honourable feeling, by every sense of duty, to speak the dignified language, and pursue the honest conduct of a nation not more marked by its high spirit and bravery, than its strict and unimpeached integrity. In compassion, therefore, I am obliged to suppose, that in this instance (according to the almost daily custom) you only used "pompous and high sounding words" without the most remote meaning; words, which were suggested to you by no one principle of conduct which it was your deliberate intention to pursue.—Next, Sir, as to "firmness."—I am assured, that we shall most essentially differ as to our inter-

pretation of this word. According to my idea, "it is a disposition of the mind" made up of *courage, decision, sagacity*, "and persevering vigilance, as essential ingredients." I am bound, from your conduct, to believe, that you imagine this firmness consists in that patient resignation of mind which can submit to a continuation of every species of aggression, insult, and violence, without dignified complaint or spirited remonstrance. — That you have *this species* of firmness I am inclined to admit, as I believe every man will, who has read the printed papers relating to the late negotiation. — I will not argue whether this species of "firmness" does not approach too near to pusillanimity to make it a proper qualification for a public man; for even you cannot deny, that it may be made a most convenient cloak for the most base and marked want of decision and activity. I can imagine cases, in which a man gifted with this species of "firmness" might persevere in a line of conduct, but I confess, that I should attribute his perseverance to the hesitation of a weak, encumbered, and distracted mind, destitute of those powers and resources which would suggest new modes of conduct according to the alteration of circumstances. A man of this kind might keep his ground, but it would be from the mere fear of the consequences of quitting it. — In short, where this sort of firmness exists we do not discover the calm yet commanding attitude of a determined spirit, but the waverings of indecision, which shrinks from every honourable exertion, and skulks from every appearance of difficulty and danger. — We see not a courage coolly collecting and wisely disposing the resources of an enlarged and vigorous mind in order to meet the worst; but procrastination and compromise. We see a disposition "*to deceive and to be deceived*," which, while it winks at the evils of the present day, leaves futurity to take its chance. — Sir, there is a wide difference between the conduct of the mastiff, who when attacked, stands at bay, and that of the patrich, of pompous gait, who thrusts his head into the thicket and thinks, that there is no danger because he does not see it. — To pursue, however, the line of argument which I have undertaken, I say, that it is most clear that you do not "know yourself," the duty, therefore, of giving you this most necessary information devolves on any man, who will undertake a task, which can afford him no one ray of satisfaction, except from the hope, that by discharging this duty he may contribute his share to-

wards relieving the country from the *burthen of your services*. — Sir, in proceeding to exhibit to your view, and that of my countrymen, the leading features of your character, I can assert, without the most remote chance of contradiction, that the most prominent one has been that of "a continued endeavour to disguise from the public (and that by means of words not always consistent with truth) the actual difficulty of their situation; and to avoid meeting such difficulties by every art of political evasion." — That under such a miserable system our embarrassments must accumulate, with every circumstance of aggravation, till they rouse complaints that must be heard, is unavoidable. — And pray, Sir, when the fears of an exasperated nation (fears exceeding even those which before doomed you to inaction) have goaded you into resistance, what has been your conduct? I will admit, that you have, in some instances, announced the determination to meet the actual difficulties of our situation, in a tone sufficiently loud, and in language sufficiently ostentatious. But, has not this display of words, this single effort of animation been uniformly and immediately followed by a conduct so wavering, undecided and inefficient, that every man of honour, of spirit and patriotism in the kingdom must blush for the disgrace, which you are daily accumulating on our heads, and tremble for the ruin, which such conduct must finally and irretrievably bring on the king and country! — Your friends, or rather those who are willing to make their fortunes by your means, have affected to discover in you great "simplicity of character," and a "fairness" and "liberality" in your conduct; and about this they make a great noise, whenever mere shame compels them to be silent about all the great qualities hitherto deemed essential to the situation. — I, however, most decidedly differ from them on this subject, (and permit me to assert, that the mask is daily falling off) I can see nothing of this candour, this openness, this liberality of character; but I do see a great deal of what you may call "*address*" and "*management*" in your transactions; but which those, who read the remaining part of this letter, may chance to distinguish by more appropriate terms. — I had almost forgotten to remark, that you have the favourite modes of private "*conciliation*." You can resort to your nods the gracious smiles, and the affectation of confidentially consulting those whose services may assist you, but whose opinions even you must despise. These paltry and un-

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dignified acts have, to my surprise and disgust, for a time procured you some friends; but friends, you may be assured, who will desert or betray you without scruple, the moment they see, that the nods and the smiles of another man are more likely to promote their interest or gratify their self-importance. — Having cursorily mentioned the most marked and obvious features of your political character, which I do not hesitate to assert, is a compound of cowardice, indecision, folly, and not less duplicity, I shall call to your recollection some facts, in which some or all of these respectable qualifications for a *Prime Minister of Great Britain* do most distinctly appear. — In the first moment of your administration, you were so terrified by your own advancement, and so absolutely in a state of pupilage, that the whole appears to have been a mere blank in your history. — The first fact in point of date, which occurs to my recollection, is that, in which, by a motion of yours, you sacrificed the law of the land, and the rights of Parliament to your fear of the Rev. J. Horne Tooke. — I cannot forget the indignation, with which I read the report of your speech on this occasion; in which, after detailing with more than your ordinary clearness, the legal arguments wherewith you had been supplied, and which most distinctly proved, that the clerical character disabled any man from being elected a member of Parliament, you, *in direct contradiction to every argument which you had used*, concluded by a motion for a bill to confirm the seat of this Rev. Gentleman, to whom no regular government ever had, or, I believe, will have any obligation. That your motive was fear, direct dastardly fear of Mr. Tooke, let no man doubt; the friends of your government, the runners from your offices proclaimed it most loudly by their commendations of your “discretion” in avoiding contests similar to those about the Middlesex election, &c. &c. being arguments which your cowardice made necessary, and their prompt servility led them to circulate. — Believe me, Sir, a sacrifice of the principles of established law to motives which you find it convenient to dignify with the title of “discretion,” is no light matter; and you may be assured, that many men of serious and reflecting minds, formed from this beginning a very correct estimate of the character of your administration, an estimate which subsequent events have indelibly confirmed. — The next act in point of date, of which I shall take notice is, alas! too well known, and too severely felt to lay me under the necessity of

naming it: your conscience will immediately tell you, that I can allude to nothing but the transaction relating to, and ending in, the disgraceful (and not less disastrous than disgraceful) treaty of Amiens. I could wish, for the honour of my country, that history could be silent as to this treaty; this cannot be: but be assured, that no man can ever record the details of this event, with the fidelity of an historian, without transmitting your name to posterity with *all the contempt it deserves*. — That this event most fully proves your disposition to retreat from present difficulties, no man can deny; I will not waste words in proving it; but the transaction proves another leading feature of your character, I mean, that of your “management” and “dexterity.” You were, and you knew that you were, the deliberate author of this treaty, which commenced from the date when our evil stars made you prime minister; and yet you most industriously proclaimed the “people of England” as the authors of this disgraceful event, for which, as prime minister, you were almost exclusively responsible. — I am informed of a fact, which you cannot deny (and which if a public address would justify me in disclosing names I could *prove*), namely, that during the disgraceful interval which elapsed between the signing the preliminaries of peace and the definitive treaty, when we were insulted by every means of aggression, that proclaimed the *continuance* of the “hostile mind” of the enemy; you were informed from various sources, (and from sources to which you attached a credit) that this “people,” whom you so unfairly traduced as the authors of their own disgrace, were again fully roused to action and eager for the continuance of the war. — Surely, Sir, this conduct cannot be said to convey the idea of fair “address” or “management.” But, to use plain words, it exhibits a most striking effort of the art of political chicanery. — The next point, I shall mention, relates to your conduct as a minister of finance, and arises from your budget of the year 1802. — If I am correctly informed, you have uniformly been among the foremost in your panegyrics on the system pursued by that great man (who I trust will never again call you his right hon. friend, or permit you to address him by that title,) and by which he provided for the extinction of the loan of each year, by raising one per cent. on the capital stock funded, in addition to its current interest. — The step which you took in this budget of 1802, was to introduce an

Act entitled, "*An Act for amending and rendering more effectual the Acts for the reduction of the public debt.*" The leading feature of this Act (however incredible it may appear, let no man disbelieve me,) was to dispense with a provision for the reduction of our debt to the extent of "*eight hundred and sixty thousand pounds per ann.*", a sum nearly equal to the original sinking fund!!—You know, or ought to know, that the fund would be wholly a loser to the extent of £850,000 per ann. for the term of six years under your system; and that it would continue to be a loser (calculating at a moderate rate of interest) for upwards of twenty years; which is, in the view of every man, a sort of political perpetuity as to money concerns; and yet you *deliberately and modestly* call this an Act "*to render more effectual the Acts for the reduction of the public debt!*"—Who is so blind, as not to see, that the whole measure had its origin in your feeling yourself unequal to the attempt of imposing taxes necessary for the support of the public credit according to your acknowledged opinions on the subject? And who can be so besotted, as not to discern, that the title of your act was a mere fraud to mislead the public as to their opinions of the transaction?—That the public did not see its baseness and folly, is most true; though your "*present right hon. friend Mr. Tierney*" was not wanting in his duty, and did then very clearly expose and reprobate the impolicy and cowardice of the measure.—But, Sir, the blindness of the public as to these subjects, may possibly have been among the motives, which tempted you to shew yourself more conspicuously to the world, in that most unfortunate, contemptible, and fallacious publication entitled "*Substance of the Speech of the Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, Dec. 10, 1802.*"—The mention of that pamphlet leads me to the immediate consideration of another very remarkable feature of your conduct as "*minister of finance.*"—You have not, and cannot have the assurance to defend the statements contained in this pamphlet; if, however, you should be induced to do it, I request, that you would *first* ask the opinion of the "*Rt. Hon. George Tierney.*"—You, however, knew by this time most clearly, that the errors in your account of our receipt (and exceeding it) amount to so many millions of pounds that a common exciseman would be deprived of his place and his bread, for an error of as many shillings.—I shall not, therefore, dwell on the errors of your statement, which are

known to every well-informed man in the country, and particularly to the gentlemen at the Stock Exchange.—I mention the subject with another view; you were informed of the existence of these errors on the *very day, or the day before* this publication issued from the press. And yet with this information on a question not admitting of doubt, (if you comprehend a single principle on the subject) you officially sent this pamphlet as a sort of "*financial manifesto,*" to our ambassadors at the several courts of Europe.—Sir, till this disgraceful transaction, there is not an instance on record, of so fraudulent a juggling, and dishonest a trick on the part of any minister of Great Britain; it was reserved for the "*candid,*" "*liberal,*" and "*honest*" Mr. Addington to circulate a financial romance, equal in point of effrontery and fraud to any that ever issued from the pen of the celebrated Barrere or the complaisant minister of Buonaparté.—If another feature were yet wanting to exhibit those leading features of your administration, *namely, those of indecision, folly, and duplicity,* let any man read, (even in their mutilated and garbled state) the papers submitted by you to parliament as containing the substance of the late hostile negotiation.—That we were on the eve of a war, whilst you were proclaiming the nation as being in the midst of a "*profound peace,*" no man of common sense can doubt.—Could you ever have supposed, that the long and laboured discussions of Lord Hawkesbury united with your "*temporising,*" and your "*conciliation,*" could have ever led to an amicable settlement of *such* a dispute with *such* an enemy?—And yet with a total absence of common sense, with a want of dignity the most marked, and with a duplicity the most disgraceful, you continued deluding this country with your prating about "*profound peace,*" your disarmaments, and your abandonment of conquests; whilst our enemy, more decided in his character, more sagacious in his views, continued, without the smallest interruption, his conduct of "*aggression,*" "*violence,*" and "*insult,*" (I use your own words) till *even* you were sensible, that we were on the brink of a precipice, from which nothing but a renewal of war (under all the disadvantages of your creating) could withdraw us.—Sir, I most deliberately and solemnly warn you, that if you should have again the power of *prescribing* to the nation, another such opiate, "*as the peace of Amiens,*" the sleep that will ensue will be the sleep of death!—Can any man after these transactions look

with confidence to the future; if such things have been, who can dare hope, that they will not occur again!—Can any man after such woeful experience, be so blindly sanguine, as to look forward to any thing but disgrace and ruin from the continuance of your miserable government?—I have, as you may suppose, omitted a variety of facts, which concur in proving these leading points in your political character, which I will not again repeat. It is however impossible not to notice, in a few words, *your want of decision as to the conduct that should be pursued against Spain; your total and shameful abandonment of even the common form of vigilance as to Ireland; your magnanimous promises as to "gigantic measures" for the security of the country, and your sudden terror when you begun the actual performance of them; your miserable indecisive policy, your arming and disarming, your orders and counter-orders, which will speedily have the effect of rendering every effort of honourable zeal, every disposition to voluntary service languid and ineffectual.*—On these points I shall say little; because I do most sincerely hope, that they will be subjects of the most early attention of parliament: and, unless you have better fortune than you deserve, they may end in discussions, that may cost you what you value more *even than your place.*—Since this letter was begun, the papers have announced a fact, which, from its extreme wickedness and folly, I almost hesitate to believe: It is said, that a pamphlet has issued from the Treasury, (where you command, or ought to command every man and every measure,) loaded with the grossest invectives against this "truly great man," to whom you owe your political existence. It is said, that this paper, (at the same time that it affects to disclose the most sacred and confidential communications) misrepresents every fact in a manner the most disgraceful to the writer and to you, who, if you did not direct, at least must have permitted him to write.—I do not know any of the confidential communications between you and Mr. Pitt; but this I know, and the whole nation knows, that it was to him that you first owed your elevation to the chair of the House of Commons; I also know, and every man knows, that when you were, to the astonishment of all mankind, created prime minister, the friends of Mr. Pitt either retained their places or accepted them under you, at his express solicitation. — You also know, that without the silent influence of his support, or open assistance, (which, alas! he gave you) your administration could not have con-

tinued its puny and rickety existence for one month.—That obligations such as these, that a friendship so disinterested, should have been for an instant forgotten, must excite the astonishment of any man who has the smallest spark of an honourable feeling in his bosom.—What then must be the degree of indignation, contempt, and scorn, which your conduct must now excite through the whole nation, when it sees you basely and secretly abetting a Treasury Hireling in the circulation of abuse and invective against this "great man," *who has considerably lessened the obligations we all owe to him, by the unfortunate support he has given to you.*—I am sensible, that my zeal for the best interests of my country, has induced me to address you, at greater length than the bounds of a letter fairly justify; I shall therefore conclude, by solemnly requesting, that you will anxiously consider, whether from the experience of the past, you can possibly suppose, that your continuance in power can lead to any other event than the ruin of your country. I would also advise you to reflect, whether your incapacity and weakness have, not unfrequently almost compelled you, in self-defence, to resort to political fraud for your protection; for I do admit it to be possible, that your disposition might have led you (if it had not been tinged by the most offensive vanity) to have been harmless, if not in some degree useful.—You might have done some service at the vestry of your parish, and have exhibited yourself with some advantage as the foreman of a jury.—You may be assured that the contempt, with which you have been hitherto treated, is speedily rising into active and general indignation, and except you make a prudent retreat, (I most solemnly admonish you as to the inevitable consequence) the public indignation will take from you, what you value more even than your place or its profits.—You are partial to the signature of a "near observer," I shall, therefore, subscribe myself, your humble servant, and

A NEARER OBSERVER.

TO THE EDITOR.

Antrim, Sept. 10, 1803.

SIR,—I have just obtained a sight of your No. 8, (Vol. IV. p. 289), wherein your Correspondent from Dublin of August 6, has enumerated many instances of gross inattention and criminal neglect of the various notices given to government concerning the intended insurrection, July 23d. But the most striking and remarkable of all seems to have escaped his recollection. The

traitors amid their ample and uninterrupted preparations, being most destitute of gun-powder, were encouraged by the wilful obstinacy at the Castle, actually to set up a manufacture of it in one of the principal streets in Dublin; where, by the ignorance or carelessness of the workmen, an explosion took place, and one of them was killed on Saturday, July 16. The alarm and apprehensions which this discovery excited among the loyal part of the inhabitants, were treated with the utmost derision at the Castle, and they were even stigmatized with the opprobrious name of *Alarmists* in the account published by government in the Dublin prints, as may be seen in the republication of their account in our Belfast News Letter of July 22d, which is here copied, viz.—“DUBLIN, July 19th.—

“Saturday last, some gun-powder having exploded at a house in Patrick Street, two men were dreadfully wounded, and conveyed to Stevens's Hospital, where one of them died, but the other is in a state of recovery. Various reports have been founded on the circumstance, according to the different views and prejudice of the reporters, and the alarmists have not been idle; but from the inquiry made by us, we have reason to believe that nothing of a political nature is connected with the transaction.”—As this explosion took place but one week before the insurrection of July 23d, the surviving workman must have been still a patient in the hospital, when the inquiries concerning it were, or ought to have been instituted by government. Yet I never heard that any inquiry was ever made, or any examination taken of him, concerning this traitorous manufacture of gun-powder. But I hope the subject will not escape inquiry, nor the guilty punishment at the next meeting of the Imperial Parliament. —I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

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PUBLIC PAPER.

LETTER from H. R. H. MONSIEUR, Brother of LOUIS XVIII, to the KING OF ENGLAND, professing the SERVICES of the FRENCH PRINCES, in the war.

Monsieur, mon frere et cousine,—It is with a feeling the most just, and with the liveliest sense of gratitude, that I avail myself of existing circumstances, to demand of your Majesty, on my own behalf, in that of my sons, of the Princes my cousins, and of all Frenchmen residing in your Majesty's dominions, that you would be pleased to allow us to unite ourselves to your faithful subjects, and to offer our services against our common enemy.—We are Frenchmen, Sir; and neither our misfortune, nor the many acts

of injustice we have experienced, have weakened the sacred ties that bind us to our country; but the man who has for the present subjugated France, and rendered it the instrument of his perfidious ambition, is in truth as much the enemy of every Frenchman, as he is of your Majesty, and of your paternal government.—On taking this step, we therefore fulfil a double duty: and if your Majesty deigns to accept of our services, we will enter into a rivalry with your loyal subjects, in order to prove to you the full extent of our gratitude.—I pray your Majesty to receive, with your usual goodness, the homage equally sincere as respectful, of every sentiment with which I shall always remain,—Mons. Mon Frere et Cousine, &c. &c. &c.

LETTER from GEN. MACDOWALL, Commander of the BRITISH FORCES in CEYLON, to His Excellency the GOVERNOR, relative to the WAR carried on against the KING OF CANDY.—Dated one mile East of Geriagamme, Feb. 19, 1803.

Sir,—It is with great pleasure I inform your Excellency, that the advance under lieutenant colonel Logan of the 51st regiment attacked this morning and carried the two strong and important posts of Galle Gederah and Geriagamme. At the first, in which the enemy abandoned three very curious brass cannon, no resistance was made; at the last, a heavy fire commenced, the moment the grenadiers of the 19th, under capt. Honner, which led, appeared, and was maintained, though with little effect, until the assailants entered the battery. From their contemptible mode of defence, the enemy, I presume, have not suffered much loss; on our side, I sergeant and I private, of the 19th regiment, are severely wounded. From the steepness and narrowness of the paths, had the Candians behaved with common resolution, this conquest would have lost us the lives of many brave men. The Adigaar, it is said, has fled into the Four Corles, and the troops who were lately under his command are dispersed in the woods, or have retired towards Candy. The road to the capital is now open; I shall reach Katoogastotte on the Mahaville Ganga to-morrow, and next day have it in my power to march into it. I have no news of Lieut. Col. Barbut's detachment.—I have the honour to be, &c.

HAY MACDOWALL.

LETTER from COL. BARBUT, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of CEYLON, relative to the WAR now carried on against the KING OF CANDY.—Dated at the Camp at Wallapoalloe, February 20, 1803.

Sir,—Please to inform his excellency, the governor, that about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th, as my detachment approached the Great Candian River, I found the opposite bank, the village of Wallapoalloe, and neighbouring hills, occupied by the enemy in force; a few minutes fire from two mortars and one six-pounder obliged them (after expending much of their ammunition without effect) to retire; and the detachment crossed the river this morning. The report of the country is, that the enemy lost 15 killed. At present we are posted at the village of Wallapoalloe, within one English mile and a half of Candy, and are in hourly expectation of being joined by Major General Macdowall.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

G. B. BARBUT, Lieut. Col. commanding the Detachment.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

LETTER from the AMERICAN CONSUL at PARIS, respecting AMERICAN CLAIMS on the FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

Commercial agency of the United States.—Paris, May 30, 1803.

SIR,—I have now the satisfaction of informing you, that in virtue of a convention lately entered into by our minister with this government, all American claims which are embraced by the 2d and 3d articles of the convention concluded in September 1800, are to be revised by a board of three American citizens, and as far as may be approved by them are to be paid, principal and interest, in bills drawn by our ministers on the treasury of the United States. This board is to be formed immediately, and is to sit no longer than twelve months—it will be well, therefore, for you immediately on receipt of this letter to send me by two different opportunities, a notarial power of an attorney for the sum that may be liquidated in favour of your vessel the ——— detained by the embargo on American vessels at Bordeaux in the years 1793 and 1794, the whole of which is in my charge. You will instruct me by letter at the same time, in what manner and to whose order you wish me to remit the bills that I may obtain for your account.

(Signed)

FULWAR SKIPWITH.

ADDRESS of the FRENCH and ITALIAN TROOPS under the command of GEN. MURAT, to the FIRST CONSUL, offering a portion of their PAY, for the CONSTRUCTION of a SHIP OF WAR.

Citizen First Consul and President, — Our hearts, our arms, our fortune, and our blood, are at your disposal, to avenge the national honour, the right of nations, and violated faith. Placed here on the territory of your first glory, French soldiers and Italians, we have only one and the same wish. Defenders of the same cause, we have rallied around you with unlimited confidence and unanimous devotion, as do all the citizens of the two Republics, who have confided to you their destinies and their felicity. There is not among us a single soldier or general officer who does not burn to be a simple volunteer of the happy army which, directed by your genius and your star, shall pass the seas as you have passed Mount St. Bernard. — Every Italian and French soldier offers one day's pay, every officer eight days, and every superior and general officer the half of their appointments for a month for the construction of a ship of war, which shall be the name of our General in Chief. — First Consul and President, let us punish the Cabinet of London, the violator of solemn treaties: let us make war to regain peace and ensure the triumph of humanity: let an island too celebrated, at length be purged of a faction, the enemy of humanity, and even of the English nation. Of a faction which sows calumny, treason, assassination, pillage, and all the scourges of discord and revolutions. Let the innocent blood too long shed in the two worlds from the thirst of gold fall at length on the guilty heads of those islanders who believe themselves masters of the sea. Let the maritime sceptre be broken in London itself; let the flag of war be changed into the flag of peace and commerce, and let that of the feeblest people be every where respected like that of the greatest nations.

LETTER from GEN. VICTOR, commander of the FRENCH TROOPS in the BATAVIAN REPUBLIC to the MINISTER OF WAR, transmitting the CONTRIBUTIONS of his ARMY in aid of the INVASION OF ENGLAND.

CITIZEN MINISTER.—The troops, the Generals, and the officers of the army, the command of which is entrusted to me, impatiently wait the signal of battle to which the faithless English Government, in the madness of its pride dares them. Hatred to the disturbers of the peace of the world; vengeance for their perfidious conduct, is the cry of the army—led by such sentiments our attack will be fearful. But if, Citizen Minister, it is sufficient for our duty to combat the enemies of the human race, this is not sufficient for the wish which animates us.—It is certain that our arms are ready to punish them; but the army I command, not content with having deputed me to be the interpreter of their zeal to prosecute this sacred undertaking, and to request you to convey their homage in this respect to the First Consul, likewise solicits me to transmit to you the voluntary contributions which it has made of a part of its pay for the present month towards the expenses of the war. Subjoined is a list of the contributions.

VICTOR.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

HIS MAJESTY'S ORDER for the FURTHER PROROGATION of the BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

At the Court at St. James's, the 14th day of September, Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.—It is this day ordered, by his Majesty in Council, that the Parliament, which stands prorogued to Thursday, the 6th day of October next, be further prorogued to Thursday, the 3d day of November next.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—The intelligence which has been received from the Continent respecting Portugal and Spain is uncertain and contradictory. Some accounts relate that both are arming with a determination to resist the encroachments of France; and others that both have paid large sums to her agents, for the preservation of peace. A letter from Hamburgh, of the 26th instant, says that a courier who passed through that city on his way from Lisbon to Petersburg, reported that Gen. Lasnes had presented several notes to the Prince Regent containing the demands of his government, 1st that all the Portuguese ports should be shut against the English; 2d, that Portugal should pay France a very large sum; and 3d, that she should fit out a certain number of ships to be employed by France against England. The Moniteur of the 4th inst. contains the following statement of the causes of the dissatisfaction which France entertains with respect to Portugal.

Lisbon, August 2.—An English privateer entered Faro in Algarve, with a French prize. This prize was a polacre from Marseilles, captain Pourquier, co-

ming from Saint Bartholomew, and laden with sugar, coffee, cocoa, and guaiacum wood. The crew was landed and sent into Spain. It is in this manner that the English respect the neutrality of Portugal and the edicts of the Prince who has in vain forbidden any of the armed vessels belonging to the belligerent powers to enter his ports. The 2d Thermidor an English frigate from Portsmouth entered the port of Lisbon; she had taken in her way a French privateer of 16 guns, the crew of which were on board prisoners of war. On the 1st of Messidor, the French captain of the brig *L'Hirondelle* having displayed his flag in the road of the port of Lisbon was attacked by a Portuguese boat with four men, who ordered him to strike his flag, and on his refusal attempted to pull down the French flag by force. This outrage was complained of, but was not punished. In the beginning of July the English privateer the *Narcissus* entered the port of Lisbon, having on board seventy French prisoners. The commandant of the fort suffered the privateer to remain there undisturbed for nine days. In the interval the prisoners obtained leave from the captain of the prize to go on shore, when they were seized by the governor of the castle of Belem, and put in prison. It was not till 48 hours after that the minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic learned that they were thus imprisoned, and in want of every necessary. The French minister demanded the release of his fellow citizens, which was refused, unless the French minister gave a receipt in form, which might be produced in the general cartel of exchange between France and England. The French minister could not but be astonished that a Portuguese governor should make himself an accredited agent for a foreign privateer and the English admiral. He disdained to participate in such a manœuvre, and the governor of Belem kept his prisoners. A few days afterwards the same privateer, the *Narcissus*, took, on leaving the harbour, and within musket shot of the Portuguese forts, which did not attempt to prevent her, an Imperial vessel, coming from Genoa. Governments which have no will, and which in the choice of their ministers know not how to protect themselves from foreign intrigues, render it impossible to respect their rights. The Portuguese government may well be suspected of not wishing to remain neutral; at least we may say with certainty, that if she does wish it, the situation in which

she has placed herself is such that it is impossible to have any confidence in her protestation of neutrality.' The Paris journals state that General Augereau, who was to have had a command in the army which is to be employed against England, is to head an army of thirty-five thousand men, who are to be assembled near Bayonne, and who are to be marched through Spain into Portugal. In opposition to this, it is said in letters from Paris, of the 11th instant, that this army is to be marched to the frontiers of Spain, where it is to remain until Gen. Augereau shall have received an answer to the following demands of his government: 1st, that Spain shall supply a loan of thirty millions of francs, 2d. that she shall permit ten thousand men, and twenty ships to be employed against England. If Spain refuses to accede to those terms, he is immediately to enter the Spanish territories.—The city of Hamburg is in the greatest distress in consequence of the blockade of the Elbe, its trade is almost destroyed, many of the merchants have failed and great numbers of the inhabitants are reduced to a state of misery. Prussia on the contrary, it is said, suffers little, as she is able to carry on her trade through Stettin on the Baltic and through the Sound. The Hamburgers complain 'that they who have ever been the most active distributors of British goods on the Continent, should be then only sufferers from the occupation of Hanover, an event over which they could not possibly have any controul, while neutral ships are permitted to enter the Texel and supply those with whom Great-Britain is at war.'—It is still rumoured that Russia, and the rest of the northern powers are negotiating for the removal of the blockade of the Elbe and the Weser.—An additional treaty has been concluded at Stockholm, between England and Sweden, in which the latter accedes to the convention signed at Petersburg on the 17th of June 1801, for the regulation of neutral navigation. In return for this unqualified accession, England agrees to indemnify Sweden for the two convoys which were condemned in the English courts of admiralty.—On the 29th ult. great rejoicings and splendid illuminations took place at Wismar, on the public entry of the Duke of Mecklenburgh into that city, which, together with the adjacent country, he lately purchased for one million and six hundred thousand rix-dollars.—Denmark has complained of the attack which appeared some time ago in the

Moniteur.—The Batavian government has prohibited the exportation of cheese, except to the French and Italian republics and to Spain.

COLONIAL.—The contentions which, for a long time past, existed among the different claimants of the sovereignty of Guzerat, have been finally tranquillized, and Amund Row, the prince whose pretensions were supported by the East India Company, is established on the throne. In return for the assistance which the Company afforded him, he has re-imbursed all their expenses on the occasion, and has taken into his service, two thousand of their native infantry, and a Company of European artillery, for which he has given ample security, for the annual payment of seven lacks and eighty thousand rupees. The Company have also obtained the cession of the Port of Rottablaw, in the Gulph of Cambay, which protects them from any European attack from that quarter, and by the aid of a large river in its vicinity, secures them the whole trade of the province.—Part of the town of Bombay was lately destroyed by fire, and property to the amount of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling was lost, together with about five hundred horses which were burnt to death.—The success of the British arms in Ceylon has obliged the King of Candy to relinquish his government and abandon his capital; and it is said, that the British government in that island will appoint a successor to his throne.—A newspaper called the Sidney Gazette has been established at Botany Bay. Recent accounts from that settlement represent the condition of it to be generally prosperous; but state that the tranquillity of the settlers has been lately disturbed by some convicts who had just arrived from Ireland.—On the 22d of June, a slave court was held at Kingston, Jamaica, for the trial of two negroes, for a conspiracy against the inhabitants of the island, and being found guilty, were sentenced to die. Accordingly they were executed on the following morning, and their heads stuck upon poles, in the high road.

DOMESTIC.—On the morning of the 19th inst. Emmet was put to the bar, on trial for High Treason. The evidence was long and circumstantial, and clearly proved his participation in the late conspiracy. He declined making any defence, and one of the crown lawyers having spoken to the evidence, Lord Norbury delivered a charge to the jury, who, without leaving the box returned a verdict of guilty. Before sentence was pronounced, Emmet addressed the court in a long and animated speech, in

which he avowed that it was his intention to separate Ireland from the United Kingdom, and gloried in the measures he had taken to effect it, but solemnly denied having had any connexion whatever with France. On the next day he was executed at a temporary gallows in Thomas Street, his head cut off, and his body conveyed to Newgate.—On the 17th a person, named Donnison, was apprehended and brought to town from Granada, charged with being concerned in treasonable practices; and, on the same day, a Dr. Graham and his nephew, Mr. Reynolds, from Naos; and on the 23d, a person named Kenney, who was tried and acquitted during the last rebellion: he was arrested at Liverpool, and on his arrival in Ireland was committed to Kilmainham jail. Rourke, one of the witnesses on the late trial was apprehended on the 24th upon suspicion of having committed murder in the north, during the insurrection. Howley, who shot the keeper of the Tower, was put to the bar, on the 20th and is to be tried on the 27th. Two others, called Mackintosh and Kinnihan, were arraigned on the 23d, and are to take their trial on the 30th.—Redmond, who attempted to kill himself, is so far recovered as to be able to appear in court next week. Russell will be taken to Downpatrick, where a commission will be opened for the county of Down on the 10th of October. A commission will also be opened for the County of Antrim, on the 13th, at Carrickfergus; and it is believed a similar commission will be issued for the county of Kildare; the judges are Mr. Baron George, and Mr. Justice Osborne.—Letters patent have passed the great seal of Ireland for translating the Rt. Rev. Dr. W. Knox, Bishop of Kilaloe, to the Bishopric of Derry.—A person named Farrell who was a clerk to a wine merchant in London, was taken up on the 17th inst. and after a short examination at the Secretary of State's office, was discharged. On the 19th he was again apprehended, underwent another examination, and, on the day following, was sent off for Ireland.—On the 26th the Captain of a neutral ship in the river was taken to the Thames Police Office, on suspicion of treason, and after a few interrogatories, was escorted by one of the magistrates to the Secretary of State's office, where his papers &c. were investigated. For want of some substantial evidence, he was admitted to bail, and an officer was put on board his ship to prevent her leaving the port.—Several American ships have been searched for the purpose of discovering Jerome Bonaparte.

parté, and several of the French passengers who were on board have been strictly examined, upon suspicion of being the person sought for. Hitherto, however, all these measures have been ineffectual.—Mr. Markham, a son of the Archbishop of York, and brother to Capt. Markham of the Admiralty, is appointed a Commissioner of the Navy Board in the room of Sir W. Billingham, who retires.—An universal complaint prevails of the scarcity of coin; in Bristol it was agreed that a representation should be made to government of the deficiency of silver, and in Worcester the inhabitants have issued *half-crown* tickets.—The governor and directors of the South-Sea Company, have ordered lists to be made out of all the unclaimed stock and dividends, since the origin of their charter.—A variance existed some days ago, between the directors of the East India Company, and the tea-buyers, concerning the draft on tea, which had always been allowed to the buyers: after a consultation, however, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the directors agreed that sales should be made as formerly.—A meeting of the Bank of England proprietors was held on the 22d inst. and a dividend of three pounds ten shillings per cent. was agreed on, for the last half year. On this occasion, the governor stated 'that the Court of Directors were of opinion that the deduction from the dividend, for the income tax, should not be made at present, but such was the flourishing state of the Bank, that the Bank might pay the whole, amounting to forty-three thousand pounds, in advance.'—The Lord Mayor of London held a court of aldermen on the 28th ult. at Guildhall, when James Shaw, Esq. and Sir W. Leighton, Knt. were sworn in as Sheriffs of London and Westminster, after which they, together with the principal officers of the city volunteers, went in full regimentals to St. James's, and were publicly introduced to his Majesty at the levee.—A letter from Dublin dated on the 23d states, that Luke White called on Mr. Wickham, the Irish Secretary of State, and told him, that understanding the government to be pressed for money, he had *five hundred thousand pounds sterling*, at their service, on their own terms. This offer was accepted as part of the million allowed by parliament to be raised by treasury bills, and treasury bills at five per cent. are accordingly preparing for the amount. He is to pay in three instalments, on the 29th of September, October, and November.—About two months ago, his Royal Highness Monsieur, brother to Louis XVIII. made an of-

fer, to the King of England, in behalf of all the French princes and subjects in his Majesty's dominions, to enter into his service during the present war: this offer his Majesty's ministers thought proper to decline.—For some days past, rumours have been circulated, respecting the arrival of the French; these reports have produced some alarm in the minds of the timid, and have effected the depression of the funds.

MILITARY.—All the accounts which have lately been received from the Continent concur in stating the immense military preparations which are making in the countries adjacent to the coasts of France and Holland.—Troops of every description are marching from the interior to join the armies, forming near the Channel. Those in the departments near Paris, have received orders to be in readiness to march in the same direction, and it is supposed that an hundred thousand will be in motion before the expiration of a month. Buonaparté reviewed the whole of the consular guard on the 8th inst. in the plain of Sablons: the principal part of this body will be removed to St. Omer's, where it is said the First Consul intends, chiefly, to reside during the present preparations.—The army near Buologne, which will be commanded by Massina, received an addition of seven thousand men, from the western departments, in two days. That at Calais is rapidly increasing in strength; and that in Holland will be immediately re-inforced with fifty thousand men.—Sixteen thousand French and Batavian troops at present occupy the islands of Zealand: their number, also, is to be increased. Some of the French papers assert, that the expedition against England will be headed by Buonaparté in person, and that Gen. Duroc will be his Lieut. General: others assert that Gen. Berthier will have the command of the whole.—The army of thirty-five thousand men collecting at Bayonne is not to be employed against England, but is to be stationed on the frontiers of Spain, under the direction of Gen. Augereau.—All the countries bordering on the Adriatic, are occupied by French troops.—Leghorn has a garrison of two thousand men.—The Italian and Ligurian republics are taking effective measures for the protection of their coasts.—The army in Italy under the command of Gen. Murat, and that in Batavia, under the command of Gen. Victor, have addressed the First Consul on the invasion of England, and in addition to the offer of their lives, they have appropriated a portion of their pay, towards

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aiding in the payment of the expenses of the expedition.—France has concluded a military convention with Switzerland, by which sixteen thousand Swiss troops are received into the service of the French republic, at the same pay as French troops. One battalion of these men is to be incorporated into the consular guard.—The British army in Ceylon, under the command of Gen. Macdowall is prosecuting a successful war against the troops of the King of Candy. On the 15th of February last, Col. Logan, of the 51st regiment, attacked and carried the strong and important posts of Gederah and Giriagamme: the first was abandoned without resistance, but a heavy fire was kept up by the other from the time the grenadiers appeared until the assailants entered the battery. The Candians made but a weak defence; the Adigar fled to the Four Corles, and, of the troops which he commanded, a part was dispersed among the woods, and the rest retired towards Candy. On the same day, another detachment under Col.

attacked a body of the enemy who were posted in the village of Wallapoalloa, on the banks of the Great Candian River, and after a short firing dislodged them. Col.

then crossed the river and took possession of the village, which is only one mile and a half from Candy. Gen. Macdowall expected to reach Katoogastotta, on the Mahaville Gonga, on the 20th, and, on the day after, to enter the capital.—Five hundred of the Guards, under the direction of engineers, began on the 27th inst. to throw up a battery on the right of Thrift Wood near Chelmsford.—Among the military improvements of this country, is one for undermining and blowing up roads, with great facility, and another for transporting troops from any part of the country with great expedition. The former is said to be adopted by the Board of Ordnance, and one of the military carriages constructed for the latter purpose, was tried a few days ago in the Park. It carried fifty men, but moved very heavily.—Those who belong to the volunteer corps, are exempted from the present operation of the ballots of the Militia and Army of Reserve. The whole of these corps in the metropolis are to be reviewed by His Majesty on the 21st inst.

NAVAL.—Admiral Linois, after leaving part of his troops at the Cape of Good Hope, set sail for Pondicherry, with one ship of seventy-four guns, two frigates, and several transports, containing three thousand men. This squadron arrived at the Cape on the 14th of May, and was to be followed by another of superior force,

which sailed from Ferrol under the command of Admiral Hartsink. — Three English ships have been carried into Vigo in Spain, by a French privateer of 14 guns: one of them is an armed corvette with a cargo worth two millions of livres.—The convoy destined for Gibraltar and Malta, consisting of twenty-eight sail, with three frigates, arrived at Gibralaar in 21 days from Portsmouth. They made two small captures on the passage. — The commissioner of marine at Bourdeaux, has written to the Chamber of Commerce, that no more privateers are to be fitted out there. Similar orders have been given in several other ports.—At Ostend the first gun-boat, for the descent on England, was launched on the 31st of August; numbers of others are nearly ready, and a ship of 74 guns was to have been launched on the 17th instant. Several Blackenburg fishing boats got into Ostend on the 22d: they are to carry a 24-pounder and 100 men each.—The following is said to be a correct account of the gun boats, &c. in each of the different ports: at Dunkirk 160, at Ostend 150, at Boulogne 50, at Calais 50, at Dieppe, Fechamp, and Blackenburg 30, at Flushing and the West Scheldt 50, at the East Scheldt, Goree, Holvoetsluys, and the mouth of the Maese 60; amounting in all to 550.—The French have fitted out two privateers of 12 guns each, and sent them from Harbourg to Stadte, whence they are to drop down to Cuxhaven, with an intention of escaping into the North Sea.—On the 8th instant Lieut. Gibbons, of the hired cutter Joseph, discovered the Maria privateer, of Guernsey, in chase of two brigs; he attacked and took one of them, the privateer L'Espoir of 6 guns and 52 men, belonging to St. Maloes. The other was taken by the Maria, and proved to be an English brig from Mogadore to London.—On the 12th, Capt. Hallowell, in the Argo, captured the privateer L'Oiseau, of 10 guns and 68 men, 9 days from Rochefort.—On the 14th, Capt. Owen, in the Immortalité, in company with the Perseus and Explosion bombs, attacked the batteries of Dieppe. The firing was continued on both sides for three hours, when the lee making strong, and the town having taken fire badly in one place, and slightly in two others, he proceeded off St. Vallery en Caux, where he opened a fire for an hour. The batteries were soon deserted, and the inhabitants fled in every direction: Capt. Owen thinks that from the manner in which the shells burst, they must have done considerable damage.—On the 14th Admiral Sir James Saumarez, in the Cerberus, in company with the Charwell and Carteret cutter, and the Terror and Sulphur bombs, attacked Granville. A brisk fire was kept for a long time, and from the number of well-directed shells which were thrown from the vessels under his command, Sir James supposes that very considerable damage has been done. A few shells were thrown in the evening without much effect, but on the next day the attack was renewed, and a well-directed fire was continued for five hours, when the tide made it necessary for the squadron to withdraw.—On the 20th the hired cutter Prince

Augusta, of 8 guns and 25 men, was attacked by two Dutch schooners, one of 12 guns and 70 men, and one of 8 guns and 50 men. Several broadsides were exchanged, and several attempts were made to board the cutter, at length, after an hour's engagement, the enemy was beaten off. Lieut. Scott, who commanded the Princess Augusta, and the gunner and boatswain were killed, and three others wounded.—On the 27th and 28th instant, Calais was bombarded by a squadron under the command of Admiral Montague: the official accounts have not yet been received.—In consequence of the recommendation of H. R. H. Prince William of Gloucester, a meeting of the mayor and inhabitants of Liverpool was held for the purpose of providing means for the construction of floating batteries and gun-boats for the defence of the harbour.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FUND AT LLOYD'S.

The stop, which appears to have been put to the progress of this fund, is, very probably, to be, in some measure, attributed to the remarks, which were made with respect to it, in a former sheet of this work; * it is, at least, certain, that, since the publication of those remarks, not more than about five thousand pounds have been brought in, even if we include the subscriptions of "the women of the United Kingdom," who, on this occasion, as on most others, seem to have much more penetration than the men. But, your true mercantile spirit is not easily subdued, though it may, in some cases, meet with an effectual check. Finding the general call to be unavailing, and also finding, that the expenses of advertising amounted to no inconsiderable part of the receipts, the Committee at Lloyd's have had recourse to a mode of address more direct in its nature, and, as they imagine, more likely to produce the desired effect. They have sent a circular Letter to the Mayors, or Chief Magistrates, of the several cities, towns, and boroughs of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, of which letter the following is a copy:—

"Patriotic Fund.—Lloyd's Coffee-Sir, House, 9th Aug. 1863.

By direction of the Committee appointed by the Subscribers to manage this Fund, I beg leave to inclose certain Resolutions, and to request you will have the goodness to use all your influence in promoting the objects of the Institution. The Committee consider it unnecessary to point out the various important and humane ends which

* See present Volume, p. 281 et seq. to which the reader is requested to refer.

it embraces, and the imperious call which is made at the present crisis on men of all ranks and conditions in the community; being persuaded that these will present themselves to the minds of the well disposed, and give effect to the Exertions which you may be pleased to make in your place and neighbourhood.—The Committee beg leave to suggest, whether a Subscription may not be opened in your town, and the money collected from time to time be remitted to, and placed under the charge of the General Committee here; leaving it however to your own discretion, and that of those who may join with you in this great work, to decide on such modes as may be considered the most beneficial for the purposes of this Institution.—As such part of the Fund as shall not be used for the purposes now intended will be returned, in proportion to the sums subscribed, you are requested to be particular in describing those who may come forward on this occasion.—I have the honor to be,—Sir,—your most obedient, and most humble Servant,—Francis Baring, *Chairman*.—That the Committee at Lloyd's should issue a paper like this is by no means surprising: one of their foolish flatterers, in the newspapers, have called them "*Kings of Albion's Isles*;" and, it would not have been very astonishing, if they had sent out a proclamation instead of a Circular Letter. But, what does astonish one, is, that they should, in this act of encroachment, have received the sanction of government, or, at least, the aid of one of its officers! The circular letter, coming from Sir Francis Baring, as chairman of the Committee, might, probably, in some places, have received some attention; but, the circumstance of its being franked and forwarded by the Secretary of the General Post-Office, who is, of course, understood to act under the direction of his superiors, entirely changes its nature; and, to the hands of the magistrate, it now comes as a strong invitation, not to say a command, to raise money upon the people of his city, town, or borough. The magistrates are all, in some degree or other, under the influence of the government. Many of them are closely connected with it; and, no small part of them have, either already or by expectancy, a dependence upon it, on their own account or on account of some relation or friend. To persons thus situated a letter is addressed by an officer of the government. He does not, indeed, write the letter; but he sends it; and, it will not be denied, that, out of every hundred persons, to whom he sends it, ninety-nine will look upon the con-

tents as speaking *the wishes of government*. Thus, then, the magistrates of the kingdom are invited, as they think, by the government, to "use *all their influence*" in prevailing upon the people to give up their money, without limitation as to amount, into the hands of a committee of stock-dealers, a *self-created club*, assembled at a Coffee-House at London. By the same authority the magistrates are told, that there is an "imperious call, upon men of *all ranks and conditions*," to yield to the influence thus to be exerted; and, a no very unintelligible hint is given, that, those who refuse to subscribe will be excluded from the number of the "*well disposed*," who, that they may be distinguished from the rest, are requested to be accurately described, in the several reports and returns made to the self-created government at Lloyd's Coffee-House.—Some of the magistrates will, doubtless, treat this insolent insinuation with the contempt that it deserves; they will recollect, that neither their Majesties nor their Royal progeny have subscribed to this fund; that very few, comparatively speaking, of the nobility, country-gentlemen, and clergy, have had the weakness, or the vanity, to be wheedled into the list; and, indeed, they will perceive, that the "*well-disposed*" who have contributed do not, including the ministers, the footmen, the Everlasting-Club, and the 17 pea podders, amount to more than about *three-thousand souls*, a number most alarmingly small, if we were to consider all the rest as being *ill-disposed* persons, especially when we reflect, that there are, at this moment, about five hundred thousand men under arms. The "*Everlasting-Club*, who "meet 365 times a year, at Mr. Rees, Ma-ry's Buildings, St. Martin's Lane," have, it seems, subscribed £21.0.0; while, "seven-teen gathering girls in Mr. Morris's garden at Brentford," animated by spirits not less ardent, though, perhaps, not so liberally imbibed nor quite so often and so regularly renewed, have, it appears, contributed their 6d a piece, making the aggregate sum of 8s. and 6d. And, is it a rabble of lacquays, and chambermaids, and spits, and hedge prostitutes, that the magistrates are to regard as the well disposed people of the kingdom, merely because, from folly or fun, they happened to give a trifle towards the fund at Lloyd's?—But, though some, and even many, of the magistrates will treat the Circular Letter with just contempt, there are, it is to be feared, many who will not, but who, from motives, such as are above described, will obey what they look upon as the *invitation*, that is to say, *the order*, of go-

vernment, and will "use *ALL* their *influence*," which is *by no means small*, to induce the people to give their money into their hands, in order that it may be transmitted to the Committee at Lloyd's Coffee-House. Therefore, the government, if it has authorised Mr. FREELING to frank and to circulate this letter, is, to all intents and purposes, engaged in the act of raising money upon the people without consent of parliament; and, if Mr. FREELING has proceeded without authority, he has been guilty of a most flagrant abuse of office, the power of franking, which has been given to him, having been, *expressly and by law*, confined to letters, &c. &c. "*sent on his Majesty's service*." — That the ministers should wish much success to a fund which, were it to succeed to the desires of some persons, would soon render Lloyd's a formidable rival of St. James's, is not very likely; and, the truth very probably is, that, the Committee, wishing to save the expense of the postage of ten or twelve thousand letters, applied to Mr. FREELING, who, in his turn, applied to the Ministers, who gave their consent, for fear of offending the Committee. But, whether the thing has arisen from collusion, or from cowardice, the effect is the same: the ministers have, through the agency of Mr. FREELING, assumed a participation in all the acts of the Committee at the Coffee-house, and have been rendered instrumental in a proceeding, which, if it be not, strictly speaking, *illegal*, is certainly hostile to the spirit of the laws and to the nature of the government; and which, unless prevented by timely interposition, seems to threaten a total subversion of every principle of subordination to the legitimate powers of the state. For, besides the attempt to render the magistracy, the preservers of the peace, the judges, in many cases, between man and man, the king's representatives in the eyes of the people; besides the attempt to render these persons the tax-gatherers of a committee of merchants, to turn the rod of the penal law into a means of extortion; besides this most impudent attempt, the transaction here spoken of may serve as a precedent for dispensing with the aid of Parliament, whenever a minister might be disposed to carry measures against its wishes. If a committee at Lloyd's can, under the sanction and with the countenance of government, raise money upon the people, so can any other body of persons at any other place; and, if money can be so raised for one purpose, it can be so raised for another purpose. If a minister has a wish to carry

any point, either at home or abroad, requiring money, and if the Parliament will not grant that money, he has nothing to do but to cause some body of great proprietors to open a subscription, and to fill it with all the aid that his influence can give. A case of this sort is not, indeed, likely to arise; but, cases of another sort may possibly arise, and, against these, it becomes the nation to be on its guard. The danger to be apprehended from thus holding out, before-hand, *rewards* to men for doing their duty must be very evident to all those, who are, in the least degree, acquainted with the naval or military professions. That which is received as a gift at first, is next expected as a thing of course, and is very soon claimed as a right. And, as to the donors, too, the "King's of Albion's Isle;" they may, at any future time, acquire, by these means, a very powerful voice in the question of peace or war; they may revive their subscriptions, or not, as suits their interest, or their humour; and, they may, thereby, contribute, in a most powerful manner, towards making any war popular or unpopular: so that, the government, in lending its aid to the subscription at Lloyd's, is actually committing one of those suicidal acts, by which alone an ancient and well-constituted government can fall. The point of view, however, in which this fund appears most dangerous, is, as it may become an engine in the hands of the monied, against the landed, interest of the country, during the present contest. Some persons perceive times of great trouble, if not of great calamity and confusion, approaching; and, who shall say, that the fund at Lloyd's may not, if it fall into improper hands, be made use of for the purpose of obtaining a party in the fleet and the army. Nay, it is very clear, that all the noise which has been made about this "patriotic fund," must already have had a strong tendency to create, among the soldiers and sailors, a warm friendship for the stock-dealers and other traders of London; and, if a crisis should arrive, when the interests of those traders are placed in open, as they already are in secret, opposition to those of the nobility, the landed gentry, and the clergy, who form the basis of the monarchy, great danger may therefrom arise even to that monarchy itself. Without, therefore, attributing any mischievous motive to those, with whom the "patriotic fund" originated; without supposing them to have had, or yet to have in view, any more than merely to hold out an encouragement to persons to fight in defence of the stocks, one may be allowed to dread the use, to which, in troublesome times, such a fund

might be applied. Men may say what they please about the *common interest* of the land and the money; monied men will always encourage this notion, because they well know, that while the land-owners believe it to exist, the money is swallowing up the land; but, the truth is, that these interests are incessantly at variance; and, when times of great public calamity come on, they openly take their sides. Such times may never come; but those who wish to preserve the monarchy, though funds, and commerce, and manufactures should be all crushed in the struggle, will do well to set their faces against every combination, the object of which is, to raise the monied interest above that of the land, and particularly if it tend, as in the present instance, to give that monied interest an extensive influence in the fleet and the army.—Viewing the subject in this light, it is impossible to refrain from expressing one's astonishment at the conduct of those amongst the nobility and clergy, who have been so forward in promoting the success of the "patriotic fund," and, thereby, perhaps, in furnishing the means of destroying the orders, to which they belong. The Bishop of Durham has, it appears, been prevailed upon to become the great defender and patron of the Lloyd's Fund; and has even caused a circular letter, of which the following is a copy, to be sent to all the clergy in his diocese, exhorting them to aid the undertaking.

Durham, Sept. 6, 1803.

"REVEREND SIR,—I am requested, by the Committee for the Durham Patriotic Fund, to transmit you a copy of the following resolution, which has been passed at a meeting held this day.—I am, Reverend Sir, your obedient Servant,

"ROBERT BURRELL.

"RESOLVED.—That the *parochial clergy*, in the county, be requested to explain to their respective parishioners the nature, and to recommend the object of the PATRIOTIC FUND AT LLOYD'S, and the Durham County Fund; and also to receive any subscriptions that may be paid to them, and to transmit the same immediately to any of the Banks, in Newcastle, or in the county of Durham, appointed to receive subscriptions."

—This is very pretty employment for the parochial clergy, truly! They, too, as well as the magistrates, are, it seems, to become tax-gatherers to the Committee at Lloyd's! Who, amidst all the changes, and chances, and revolutions of the world, who ever expected to see a Bishop and his Clergy employed in collecting money to be deposited in the hands of a set of brokers and jews!

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And for what? That the said brokers and jews may trample upon the Bishops and Clergy with, if possible, more contempt than they already do.—There have, before, been funds collected in extraordinary times, like the present, both in this and in other countries; but, this fund differs from all others in the mode of its application. No *specific* object has, indeed, been fixed upon by the Committee at Lloyd's: nor, can any one tell you, when, or how, or where, or on whom, or for what, the money is finally to be bestowed: it is intended for "OUR DEFENDERS," and, which is the remarkable characteristic, it is to be received from the hands of the Committee at Lloyd's: a set of stock-dealers are to be the rewarders of sailors and soldiers. In France, whatever has been given, in this way, has been lodged in the hands of the *government*. In America the same course was pursued: the Congress had the disposal of the money. In England several sums were collected for the army during the American war: these sums were laid out in flannel, in hosiery, &c. but the articles were sent to the commanders, to be by them distributed. During the rebellion of 1745, a very considerable sum was collected in London for the benefit of the soldiers and sailors; but, it was destined to specific purposes, £5,000 was for the maimed and wounded; £5,000 for the reward of merit; the rest, consisting of about £8,000 was expended, in the aid of government, in *warm clothing*, as the campaign was a winter one, and in a cold climate; but, the money then voted for the maimed and wounded, and for the reward of merit, was, as soon as raised, transmitted to the Commander in Chief, the Duke of Cumberland, who represented the king; and not left to be distributed according to the discretion and judgment of the then Committee, though that Committee, which assembled at Guildhall instead of Lloyd's, was composed of the Lord Mayor and twelve Aldermen, the twelve Judges, the Master of the Rolls, &c. who had not the effrontery to arrogate to themselves the power of distinguishing and rewarding military and naval merit, which belongs to the monarch alone.—If the Stock-dealers and their Committee at Lloyd's have no sinister views; if they are not levying taxes upon the land, and houses, and labour of the whole kingdom merely for the sake of propping up the value of that paper, by which they are enabled to ride over the nobility, gentry, and clergy; if they do not wish to create, by the means of this fund, a stock-jobbing party in the army and the fleet; if they are

not, in the language of the statute, endeavouring "to obtain money upon false pretences;" if their intention really is to provide comforts for the maimed and the wounded, and pecuniary rewards for the meritorious, let them lodge the money, which they have collected, in the hands of the Commander in Chief and the Lords of the Admiralty, to be by them distributed amongst those who may be found to merit it most. But, this they appear to have no intention of doing: the money, as fast as collected, is laid out *in stock*; that is to say, is so disposed of as to assist in keeping up the *funds*, in preserving the value of the *property of the Committee at Lloyd's*, and of the whole body of stock-dealers, of whom that Committee are the representatives. Special care has been taken not to place any nobleman, country gentleman, or clergyman on the Committee. The "King's of Albion's Isle" want no brothers near their throne. They look upon all the other orders of society as made for their use; and, it must be confessed, that if the nobility, landed gentry, and clergy, are foolish or pusillanimous enough to become tools in their hands, they deserve all the rigours and all the disgrace naturally attached to such a situation.

The BOMBARDMENTS, on the coast of France, seem to have awakened the dormant spirit of philanthropy, which has, for some time past, not made itself heard in the London newspapers. The "poor innocent people" at Granville, Calais, &c. those poor innocent people, who, as a correspondent well observes, would, if they could, cut the throats of every man, woman, and child in England; these poor innocent people are not only to be spared themselves, but the mere circumstance of their living at the places, where preparations are making for an invasion of this country, that circumstance alone, is to protect those places; and to guard the preparations also!!! Absurd as this is, there are not wanting publications, or there is, at least, one periodical publication, which has the effrontery to attempt to deceive the public into a belief, that the bombardments now going on against the enemy are "*contrary to the laws of war*," than which nothing can be more directly in the face of truth. The laws of war would, under the present circumstances, fully authorise us to destroy every house and hut upon the coast of France, whether near any military preparations or not; for, without troubling oneself with points in detail, are not the French preparing to invade and to plunder this kingdom? Have they not in the most open and solemn manner, declared it to be their intention to

lay waste our country? This nobody will deny: and are we, then, to be told, that we are not to lay-waste a town of France? They tell the whole world, that their object is to *punish* us: and, have we not, during the contest, a right to *punish* them? They, in the very beginning, set at defiance all the laws of "modern and mitigated war," by seizing and robbing the English travellers, who happened to be in France, and who were protected by French passports: and, is the war to be "modern and mitigated" on our *part only*?—The question is, therefore, merely a question of expediency, and, that the bombardments are expedient as well as just, there can be very little doubt. Those who talk about the *exasperation*, which those attacks on the coast must cause in the mind of Buonaparté and of the French army and people, are totally ignorant of the character of our enemy, or are misled by their own cowardice. Besides, if this argument were worth any thing, there would be an end at once to all our ideas of offensive war. Nay, even during a battle with an enemy of superior force, you must not venture to do him any signal mischief, lest you should thereby render him more implacable! Never was there a notion at once so cowardly and so foolish. This is the fatal notion, which prevailed during the last war, and which led nation after nation under the yoke of France, who triumphed only because her enemies (if, indeed, they could be so called) adhered, through cowardice, to the modern laws and usages of nations and of war, while she set them all at defiance.

The VOLUNTEER CORPS are, it appears, to be immediately subjected to the *inspection* of certain *field officers of the army*, who have been appointed for that especial purpose. This is a measure recommended in the Register nearly two months ago. Nothing is yet said about the marching of these corps ten or twenty miles in a day, to try the wind and strength of the men; but, as the INSPECTORS will have the absolute *command* of each corps, as often as they please, they will, it is hoped, make them frequently perform long marches, carrying a load equal to that which is usually carried upon a march of actual service.—Tossing their legs up in a park or a meadow will not prepare them for a march to the coast. They should be taken over ploughed fields, along narrow lanes, over rough heath and furze lands, and through copices and forests. They should

be made to run sometimes for a mile together; sometimes to stand to their arms for half a day; and sometimes to take up their lodgings in barns and cart-houses during the night. By means like these, they would soon learn to perform great part of the business of a real soldier, and would hear of the landing of the enemy with very little dread. The old, the fat, the lazy, the feeble and unwilling men would, indeed, soon drop out of the corps; but, those who remained, might be *relied* upon; and the vacancies occasioned by the resignations would be filled up with better stuff. At present there is no way of proving either the capability or the ultimate intention of the men. They are to attend muster and exercise *regularly*, and are to obey all orders that are given them; but, if they do not attend, and if they do not obey, what is the consequence? Only an exclusion from the *benefit* of being exempted from the ballots of the militia and army of reserve, and from receiving two guineas for drill and clothing money! What, then, is to hinder them from quitting the corps the moment it is about to be called, or is called out upon actual service? And who will undertake to promise, that, when the hour of utmost need comes, some, if not many, of these corps will not become mere skeletons? But, let them be well-marched, well tried, and well sifted, before hand; make their duty now, for a part of their time, at least, pretty nearly as hard as it ever can be, and, on those who still remain on the establishment you may, then, place a perfect reliance. While this sort of discipline is practised in *all* the corps, it would be well to call out, immediately, as many as would make up fifty thousand men, and march them to join the army in Essex and Kent. The law provides for calling them out in certain cases; and there would be very little difficulty in proving, that the state of things contemplated by the act, the *casus fœderis* between the government and the Volunteer Corps, does now actually exist. These fifty thousand should be selected from the parts of the kingdom which are the most agricultural; and none of them should, if possible, come from great cities or manufacturing towns. Shop-keepers will fight the mob, but will do very little against the enemy.

✂ The York Correspondent will find what he wants at Mr. John Budd's, No. 100, Pall Mall. The Supplement to Vol. III. is just published.